

WHAT IS ANTISEMITISM?



Paper presented by Robin Margo S.C. on 21 July 2009 at Affinity Conference “Challenging Islamophobia; towards social justice & inclusion”. This version includes the gist of some additional comments that were made orally when the paper was presented.

A: PRELIMINARY

In the most extensive poll of the Muslim world to date, conducted by the Gallup Centre for Muslim Studies, respondents were asked among other things to identify what they saw as reasons for poor relations between the West and Islam. The most common response expressed frustration at the West’s lack of respect for Islam. The Gallup World Poll confirmed that *“the most important factor in determining how Muslims react to the West is not what Muslims think about the West but rather how they perceive the West’s thoughts about them”*.¹

As Charles Taylor observed:²

“...our identity is partly shaped by recognition or its absence, often by the misrecognition of others, and so a person or group of people can suffer real damage, real distortion, if the people or society around them mirror back to them a confining or demeaning or contemptible picture of themselves. Nonrecognition or misrecognition can inflict harm, can be a form of oppression, imprisoning someone in a false, distorted, and reduced mode of being.”

This conference is about the effects of nonrecognition and misrecognition on our Muslim brothers and sisters and members of my community, who have been here throughout, have come primarily to learn from them and to stand with them, which we have done before and will continue to do in future.

But Affinity, to its credit, has also asked me, a member of the Jewish community, to speak about antisemitism at a conference on Islamophobia, thus affirming that the need for respect and understanding is one shared by every religious and cultural group in multicultural Australia and that antisemitism, the longest hatred, has lessons for us all.

¹ Esposito, J.L., Mogahed, D., *Who Speaks for Islam? What a Billion Muslims Really Think Teaching Guide*, 2008, Gallup Press, p. 9.

² “*The Politics of Recognition*” in Amy Gutman (ed), *Multiculturalism, Examining the Politics of Recognition*, 1992

In doing so I am conscious of how hard it is to see things through another's eyes, to stand in their shoes, and I am also conscious of the extra difficulty caused by conflicts elsewhere in the world.

But this is a conference about social cohesion in Australia, and for us to have genuine and respectful relationships here, in this wonderful country, we must be able to talk to each other sometimes about some of these difficulties and different points of view, and still to honour, respect and trust each other as human beings and fellow citizens. Otherwise our relationships could only be superficial, merely attending each other's conferences, saying the right things and pretending to know and like each other.

I don't want that. It is also not respectful of others. And I am encouraged to be more honest and open here because of the degree of trust and respect that has been building over years, at the personal level and through practical activities and work such as:

Affinity's Abraham Conferences

Our work with Affinity and other faiths and cultures in Youth Encounters

Our shared Respect, Understanding and Acceptance programme in schools

The work done by Together for Humanity, not a Board of Deputies project, but including such people as Rabbi Zalman Kastel and Donna Jacobs Sive from our community, and Jihad Dib, my co-panelist, who is also on their Board, work that has reached some 50,000 students, with good evidence that it is significantly reducing Islamophobia and antisemitism.

May I quote a student after a Together for Humanity programme that involved four majority Muslim schools, two Christian schools and one Jewish school:

"I felt a sense of unity. I felt closer and more in touch with other students the same age as myself. I was able to step outside of my bubble and be exposed to one of the many other cultures that contribute to our society. I felt so privileged to be able to take part in such an eye-opening event. It just goes to show how one day can change a person's life forever. It can give one more respect for others. That one day was the first layer of bricks used to build a world of peace and understanding."

In that spirit, I turn now to a brief history of antisemitism, not for its own sake as history, but because one needs to know the history to be able to recognise antisemitic myths or stereotypes when they are used in modern times and to understand the enormously threatening associations and harmful effects they have for our people.

I shall then refer to some strategies Jews have tried to combat antisemitism that might be helpful in the fight against Islamophobia and to some lessons for us all.

The history of antisemitism shows how disrespect and contempt for a particular group or culture, in this case the Jews but it could be any of us, can create a climate of opinion, and even racist cultural archetypes, that cause not only immense pain, suffering and social, economic and political exclusion and isolation, but can also serve as precursors to mob violence, mass murder and genocide.

My written comments on such a large subject are of necessity summarised and incomplete and my oral comments must be even briefer. But I am happy to engage in further discussion into the future with anyone of good will.³

B: MEANING AND APPLICATION OF THE TERM “ANTISEMITISM”

Despite its apparently general etymology, “antisemitism” refers only to Jews, not to other Semitic peoples. The unhyphenated spelling is therefore to be preferred.

In 1873, German journalist Wilhelm Marr used “*Semitismus*” interchangeably with “*Judentum*” to refer to the Jewish people (as a collective) or to Jewishness (Jewish values or way of life). And in 1879, he coined the word “*Antisemitismus*”, denoting opposition to the Jewish people and Jewish values, which he regarded as a threat to German culture in a century when German Jews were beginning to experience a degree of emancipation.

The term has since been used to refer to hatred of the Jewish people and Jewish values in all the forms it has taken over more than 2000 years.

C: PAGAN ANTISEMITISM

As the first emphatically monotheistic religion, Judaism was not easily accommodated in polytheistic pre-Christian societies. Religious practices such as Sabbath observance, circumcision, and strict dietary laws also marked the Jews as different from most others in the pagan world. Statements expressing antipathy to Judaism and Jews can be found in both Greek and Roman writers and later provided fertile soil for Christian antisemitism.

³ The subject of antisemitism is vast, as is the literature. The presenter of this paper makes no claim to originality and acknowledges in particular for present purposes Fr Edward H. Flannery, *The Anguish of the Jews, Twenty-Three Centuries of Antisemitism*, Stimulus Fowlers Press, 1985, reprinted 2004; Robert S. Wistrich, *Anti-Semitism, the Longest Hatred*, Thames Mandarin, 1995; Robert S. Wistrich, “*Anti-Zionism and Anti-Semitism*”, written statement in the official record of the UN Commission on Human Rights at Geneva 10 February 2004 and published in *Jewish Political Studies Review* 16:3-3 (Fall 2004), <http://www.jca.org/phas/phas-wistrich-f04.htm>; Bernard Harrison, *The Resurgence of Anti-Semitism, Jews, Israel and Liberal Opinion*, Roman & Littlefield, 2006; Josie Lacey OAM, “*The Protocols of the Elders of Zion – Licence for Genocide*”, *Background Magazine*, vol.6 no.4 (July 1989); <http://www.tau.ac.il/Anti-Semitism/>.

There were also outbreaks of violence against Jews in the ancient world. Some examples include:

- anti-Jewish riots and murders in Alexandria in the third century BCE and again in 38 CE;
- the attempt by the Greek Selucid ruler, Antiochus Epiphanes IV, to proscribe Jewish religious practices in the 2nd and 1st centuries BCE, which resulted in the revolt of the Maccabees and the establishment of the Hasmonean Jewish dynasty; and
- the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans in 70 CE, which put an end to Jewish self-government until modern times.

D: CHRISTIAN ANTISEMITISM

The advent of Christianity added new and far more dangerous elements to pagan antisemitism because Christianity defined itself in opposition to Judaism and demonised the Jews.

Christian theology falsely accused “the Jews”, as a collective and for all generations, of deicide, literally the murder of G-d in the person of Jesus, and attributed to them a universal, cosmic quality of evil, depicting them in sermons, writing, morality plays and the plastic arts as children of the Devil, followers of the Antichrist and “*the synagogue of Satan*”.

Related paranoid fantasies of Christian Jew-hatred were that “the Jews”:

- desecrated the wafer used in holy communion;
- ritually murdered Christian children to use their blood for the making of Passover matzah;
- poisoned wells and spread disease (Jews were blamed e.g. for the Black Death and thousands were killed in horrific ways); and
- were always plotting to corrupt and undermine Christian society and to take over the world.

E: MARGINALISATION AND OPPRESSION OF JEWS IN EUROPE

As a result, Jews were marginalised and subjected to all sorts of humiliating social, legal, economic and political disabilities:

- Jews were forbidden to enter trades or professions or to own land.
- Frequently they had to wear a badge or a distinguishing colour, garment or hat.
- They had to live in ghettos, segregated from the general population.
- There were frequent incidents of forced conversion and mob violence (pogroms) against Jews. During the Crusades, and at other times too, they were massacred and their property was looted.

Attacks on and expulsions of Jews were so common in European history that by the mid-1500s Christians had forcibly emptied most of Western Europe of Jews (and in Spain and Portugal of Muslims as well).

F: PARANOID MYTHS OF POLITICAL ANTISEMITISM

As Christianity spread, this hate-filled image of “the Jews” became an integral part of European and Western culture (and in modern times, was transfused into other cultures as well). To this day, protean paranoid myths of political antisemitism include at least the following:

- “The Jews” are a totally depraved people actively seeking the destruction or corruption of non-Jewish society.
- Unlike all other population groups, membership of the Jewish people is essentially membership of a conspiracy.
- Because of the harmful and conspiratorial nature of Jewish culture, Jews are a permanent collective threat to the well-being of any nation that harbours them.⁴

G: THE PROTOCOLS OF THE ELDERS OF ZION

The Protocols of the Elders of Zion is a notorious forgery that repeats the paranoid conspiracy myths of political antisemitism and has been used by antisemites since the

⁴ These propositions are not merely false in an empirical sense, they are logically incoherent, as explained by, for example, the (non-Jewish) analytic philosopher, Bernard Harrison, in *The Resurgence of Anti-Semitism* loc.cit.

beginning of the 20th Century to make a scapegoat of the Jewish people and to justify every kind of oppression of them, including genocide.

It purports to record the protocols (principles) of a Jewish and Masonic plot to achieve world domination and was fabricated sometime between 1895 and 1902 by a Russian journalist, Matvei Golovinski, in association with the head of the Russian secret police in Paris, Pyotr Rachkovsky. The Tsarist secret police, the Okhrana, presented a copy to Tsar Nicholas II, as a possible means of fighting democratic tendencies by proving they were Jewish, but the Tsar, though an antisemite, was no fool. He recognised it as a blatant forgery and wrote in the margin: “*One does not defend a worthy cause by vile means.*”⁵

Following the Russian Revolution of 1917, however, anti-Bolshevik émigrés brought the *Protocols* to the West. Soon after, editions circulated across Europe, the United States, South America, and Japan. An Arabic translation first appeared in the 1920s.

Beginning in 1920, auto magnate Henry Ford's newspaper, *The Dearborn Independent*, published a series of articles based in part on the *Protocols*. The book of this series, *The International Jew*, was translated into at least 16 languages. Both Adolf Hitler and Joseph Goebbels praised Ford and *The International Jew*.

Hitler referred to the *Protocols* in *Mein Kampf* and they were used extensively in Nazi antisemitic propaganda. The Nazi party published at least 23 editions of the *Protocols* between 1919 and 1939. The Nazis came to power in 1933 and two years later the *Protocols* became required reading in many German schools.

The forgery has been exposed many times:

- In 1921, the London *Times* presented conclusive proof that the *Protocols* was a "clumsy plagiarism", showing that they had been copied in large part from a French political satire -- Maurice Joly's *Dialogue in Hell Between Machiavelli and Montesquieu* (1864). Other investigations revealed that one chapter of a Prussian novel, Hermann Goedsche's *Biarritz* (1868), had also been used for the *Protocols*. Joly's satire was directed at the French Emperor Napoleon III and made no mention of the Jews. Joly in turn based his work on a popular novel by Eugène Sue that attacked the Jesuits. Golovinski changed the

⁵ William R Perl, *The Holocaust Conspiracy, An International Policy of Genocide*, 1989

plotters from Napoleon III to the Jews, just as Joly had changed them from the Jesuits to Napoleon III.

- In 1935, a Swiss court fined two Nazi leaders for circulating a German-language edition of the *Protocols* in Berne, Switzerland. The presiding justice at the trial declared the *Protocols* "libellous," "obvious forgeries," and "ridiculous nonsense."
- The U.S. Senate issued a report in 1964 declaring that the *Protocols* were "fabricated." The Senate called the contents of the *Protocols* "gibberish" and criticized those who "peddled" the *Protocols* for using the same propaganda technique as Hitler.
- In 1993, a Russian court ruled that Pamyat, a far-right nationalist organization, had committed an antisemitic act by publishing the *Protocols*.

Unfortunately, despite these exposures of the fraud, many school textbooks throughout the Islamic world today teach the *Protocols* as fact. Countless political speeches, editorials, and even children's cartoons are derived from the *Protocols*. In 2002, Egypt's government-sponsored television aired during Ramadan an entire miniseries, *A Rider without a Horse*, based on the *Protocols*, an event condemned by the U.S. State Department and by some Arab writers.⁶ And Hamas draws in part on the *Protocols* to justify its attacks against Israeli civilians.

The U.S. Department of State's "*Report on Global Anti-Semitism*" (2004) stated: "*The clear purpose of the [Protocols is] to incite hatred of Jews and of Israel.*" One cannot believe in the *Protocols* without being an antisemite.

Though many websites expose the *Protocols* as a fraud, the Internet has made it much easier to use the *Protocols* to spread hatred of Jews. Today, a typical Internet search yields several hundred thousand sites that disseminate the *Protocols* or expose them as a fraud. As an educational antidote, the US Holocaust Memorial Museum has mounted an exhibition titled "*A Dangerous Lie: The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*" (<http://www.ushmm.org/wlc/article.php?lang=en&ModuleId=10007058>)

⁶ E.g. Qais S. Saleh in CounterPunch 12 Nov 2002 <http://www.counterpunch.org/saleh1112.html>

H: RACIAL ANTISEMITISM AND THE HOLOCAUST

The Spanish Inquisition had introduced a racial element into Christian antisemitism with its notion of “purity of blood” (“limpieza de sangre” in Spanish, “limpeza de sangue” in Portuguese), used to distinguish “Old Christians” from converts to Christianity who had Jewish or Muslim ancestors.

Racial antisemitism gained impetus in the 19th Century, when pseudo-scientific ideas of race were used by antisemites to distinguish Jews from a supposedly purer, Aryan race. Jews had sometimes been able to escape the worst excesses of religious antisemitism by conversion or assimilation but racial antisemitism allowed no such escape.

The Nazis labelled Jews as racially “*inferior and subhuman*”, a threat to the purity of the German master race. The Nazis started with verbal attacks and propaganda stigmatising the “the Jews”, then excluded them from the professions and universities, then isolated them in ghettos, and eventually murdered 6 million in the Holocaust.

As historian Raul Hilberg said:⁷

“From the earliest days, from the fourth century, Christianity had said to the Jews: ‘You may not live among us as Jews.’ The secular rulers who followed from the late Middle Ages then decided: ‘You may not live among us’, and the Nazis finally decreed: ‘You may not live.’”

I: NAZI TRANSFUSION OF ANTISEMITISM INTO THE ISLAMIC WORLD

The religious and racial versions of European antisemitism were originally quite foreign to Islam.

Islam regarded both Christians and Jews as *dhimmis*, People of the Book, with relative freedom to practise their own religion and administer their internal affairs, but on conditions designed to remind them of their inferiority to Muslims. They had to pay the jizya (a special tax) and were subject over the centuries to a multitude of humiliating social and legal disabilities. The most degrading was the requirement of distinctive clothing, invented in early medieval Baghdad and then copied, and more rigorously enforced, in Christian Europe. There have also been massacres, forced

⁷ Interview of Dr. Raul Hilberg by Claude Lanzmann on Disk 2 of the 9.5 hour DVD set of Lanzmann’s monumental 1985 film *Shoah*, available from Amazon (highly recommended to anyone who wants to gain more insight into the Holocaust).

conversions, and destruction or closing of synagogues in Muslim lands and in some places, like Morocco, Jews were confined to walled quarters (*mellahs*).

But until modern times there was no fantasy in the Muslim world of a global Jewish conspiracy. Jews therefore generally had better lives under Muslim rulers, e.g. in Andalus, than under Christian rulers and were able to contribute extensively to scholarship and the professions.

Today however the places where antisemitism is most overtly expressed and practised, with state endorsement, and using all the worst stereotypes of Christian and Nazi antisemitism, is in Islamic lands. Propaganda against Israel regularly extends to include the Jewish people and their religion. The blood libel has been revived from time to time, e.g. by the late King Faisal, and translations of the *Protocols*, *Mein Kampf* and other antisemitic texts into Arabic, Turkish and other languages and are widely circulated in Islamic countries. Media in Muslim countries are filled daily with insulting and cruel caricatures, stories and cartoons, not only of Israel but of Jews.

Many attribute this exclusively to the establishment of the State of Israel and the Arab-Israeli conflict. But its roots run deeper and further back in history.

First, it was always axiomatic that *dhimmis* as second-class citizens should not dominate Muslims but be dominated by them and that they were to be kept in a lower state. The intensity of resentment of Israel in some Muslim countries today cannot be fully understood, I believe, except against the background of that traditional principle and practice which has been turned upside down in our time by the Israeli presence in the Middle East.⁸

Secondly, there was a direct transfusion of Nazi antisemitism into Muslim countries long before the establishment of the State of Israel. The 1930s, which saw the birth of the Muslim Brotherhood, also saw an alliance between Haj Amin al-Husseini, the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem, and the Nazis. The Nazis exploited Arab nationalism and broadcast to the Arab masses in Palestine by Radio Zeesen, skillfully mingling antisemitic propaganda with quotations from the Qur'an and Arabic music. This propaganda also reached Iran, where it influenced the Ayatollah Khomeini. Al-

⁸ That despite the fact that there are over 1 billion Muslims in the world today [CAIR 1.2bn] and only 13 million Jews.

Husseini fled to Berlin during the war, where he made clear his approval of the Nazi Holocaust.⁹ Regrettably, he was never repudiated by any Arab or Muslim spokesman and Hitler was often honoured in Muslim countries, as was Eichmann later. Many Nazi officials escaped to Cairo and Damascus after the Second World War where they enjoyed asylum or safe passage to other places, such as South America.



Haj Al-Husseini with Adolf Hitler in Berlin

J: CHRISTIAN ATONEMENT SINCE THE SECOND WORLD WAR

Nazism was not a Christian phenomenon. But without the long history of Christian antisemitism and Christian violence against Jews, Nazi ideology could not have taken hold nor could it have been carried out.

In the West at least, therefore, in the first decades after the Second World War the Holocaust became a cornerstone of modern ethical consciousness, not just for Jews but for all humankind, deepening conscience and responsibility, and making a most particular story universal.

In 1965, the Second Vatican Council, under Pope Paul VI, published *Nostra Aetate*, part 4 of which stressed the common patrimony binding the Church and Israel, deplored hatred and persecution of the Jews and forbade representing the Jewish people of old or today as guilty of the death of Jesus and called for fraternal dialogue and biblical studies between Christians and Jews.

⁹ In a stark example of anti-Zionism leading to complicity in genocide, the Mufti wrote to the Hungarian Minister of Foreign Affairs on 28 June 1943, saying that behind the Jewish hope for a national home "...lies the hope which the Jews have never relinquished, namely, the domination of the whole world through this important, strategic centre, Palestine." He went on to say: "This is the reason why I ask your Excellency to permit me to draw your attention to the necessity of preventing the Jews from leaving your country for Palestine; and if there are reasons which make their removal necessary, it would be indispensable and infinitely preferable to send them to other countries where they would find themselves under active control, for example, in Poland, in order thereby to protect oneself from their menace and avoid the consequent damage.": Leanne Piggott, *A Timeless Struggle*, Science Press, 2008, p.82.

Further documents have been issued since elaborating the principal aims of *Nostra Aetate* and some national Catholic hierarchies have issued documents of their own, as have some of the mainline Protestant churches, especially in the United States.

For example, in 1994, the Church Council of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America, the largest Lutheran denomination in the United States and a member of the Lutheran World Federation publicly rejected Luther's antisemitic writings. (The Nazis had used Martin Luther's book, *On the Jews and Their Lies* (1543) to claim a moral righteousness for their ideology. In that book Luther went so far as to advocate the murder of Jews who refused to convert to Christianity, writing that "*we are at fault in not slaying them*".)

Progress continues to be made in Jewish-Christian relations at the institutional level and between people of good will on both sides, but the effects of 2000 years of Christian antisemitism have not yet been eradicated.

K: AN INTERNATIONALLY ACCEPTED DEFINITION OF CONTEMPORARY ANTISEMITISM

Realisation of the enormous inhumanity of the Holocaust has made antisemitism officially unacceptable after the Second World War in most Western nations, at least at government level. Antisemitism and Holocaust denial have been condemned, even criminalised, by many nation states, including some that were involved as perpetrators.¹⁰

Attached to this paper is the Working Definition of Antisemitism developed by the European Union Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia (EUMC), which monitors racism and xenophobia in the 31 countries and candidate countries of the European Union, in collaboration with key NGOs and representatives of the Office of Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR).

The EUMC, now called the European Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA), adopted the definition in 2005 and distributed it to all its national monitors. In September 2006, the definition was adopted by the United Kingdom All-Party

¹⁰ As referred to below, the same is unfortunately not the case in parts of the world more remote from the events of the Holocaust, where the extent of its cruelty and inhumanity is often poorly understood or even denied. But see Project Aladin at <http://www.projetaladin.org/en/homepage.html>

Parliamentary Inquiry into Antisemitism.¹¹ It is also employed by units of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), representing about 56 states. The definition has been translated into 33 languages and copies of the Arabic and Turkish translations are also attached. In February 2009, it was adopted in the London Declaration on Combating Antisemitism, a copy of which is also attached.

The definition commences as follows:

“Antisemitism is a certain perception of Jews, which may be expressed as hatred toward Jews. Rhetorical and physical manifestations of antisemitism are directed toward Jewish or non-Jewish individuals and/or their property, toward Jewish community institutions and religious facilities. In addition, such manifestations could also target the state of Israel, conceived as a Jewish collectivity. ”

Then follows a list of specific forms that contemporary antisemitism can take, from which I refer here only to the following:

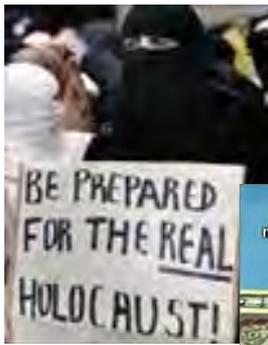
- Justifying the killing or harming of Jews in the name of a radical ideology or an extremist view of religion.
- Making dehumanising or demonising allegations about Jews or the power of Jews, especially myths about a world Jewish conspiracy, that Jews control the media, economy or other institutions.
- Denying the Holocaust or accusing the Jews or Israel of inventing or exaggerating it.
- Denying the Jewish people their right to self-determination, e.g.: by claiming that Israel is a racist endeavour.
- Drawing comparisons of contemporary Israeli policy to that of the Nazis.
- Using the symbols and images associated with classic antisemitism (e.g., claims of Jews killing Jesus or blood libel) to characterize Israel or Israelis.

However, criticism of Israel similar to that levelled against any other country cannot be regarded as antisemitic.

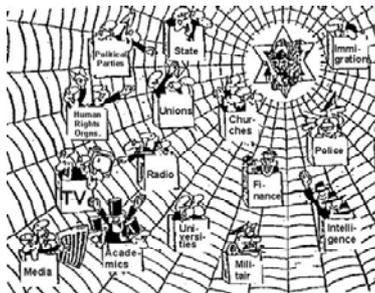
¹¹ <http://thepcaa.org/Report.pdf>

L: 21st CENTURY ILLUSTRATIONS OF FORMS OF ANTISEMITISM REFERRED TO IN THE INTERNATIONAL DEFINITION

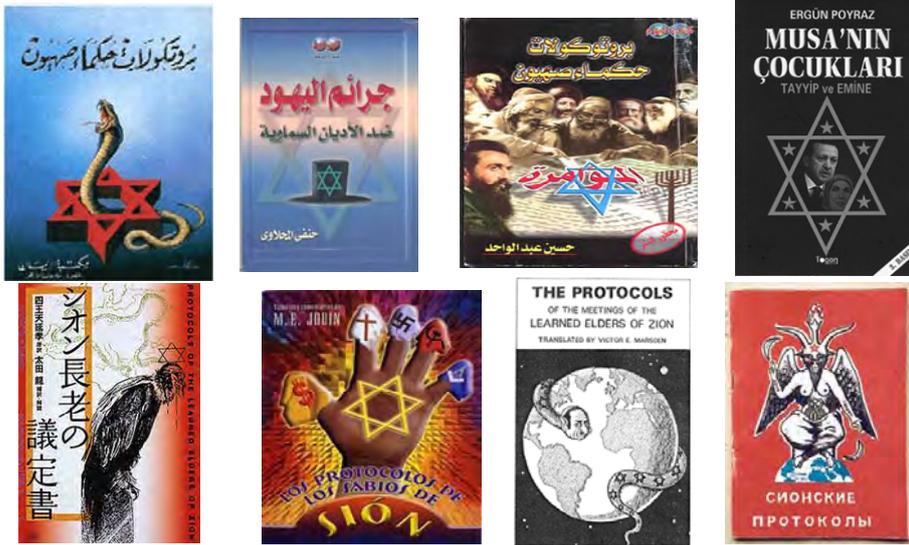
Justifying the killing or harming of Jews in the name of a radical ideology or an extremist view of religion



Demonising allegations about the power of Jews, especially myths about a world Jewish conspiracy



Promotion of the Protocols forgery



Using symbols and images associated with classic antisemitism (e.g.: claims of Jews killing Jesus) to characterize Israel or Israelis



Using symbols and images associated with classic antisemitism (e.g.: the blood libel) to characterize Israel or Israelis



San Francisco, April 2002. Return to the myth of the cannibalistic Jew. The meat is kosher, as the children have been slaughtered 'according to Jewish rites'.

'Harel', founder of the Central stream (2002). Argues the use of the blood libel and ritual murder 'antisemitism' against Israel.

Denying the Holocaust or accusing the Jews of inventing or exaggerating it



Denying the Jewish people their right to self-determination, e.g.: by claiming that Israel is a racist endeavor



Is·ra·el - *Noun*: Rogue state created by **ethnic cleansing**; specializes in **state-terrorism** and **humanitarian crimes**; sponsored by the **United States**.

Drawing comparisons of contemporary Israeli policy to that of the Nazis



M: FURTHER RE ANTI-ZIONISM AND ANTISEMITISM

As the international definition points out, not all criticism of Israel is necessarily antisemitic. Since the establishment of Israel, however, while it is theoretically possible to be anti-Zionist without being antisemitic, to be so in practice is another matter, and anti-Zionism is often intermixed with, or a mask for, antisemitism.

It is that linkage in practice that Martin Luther King was referring to when, challenging a black student who attacked “Zionists”, he snapped ‘*When people criticize Zionists they mean Jews. You are talking anti-Semitism*’.

After the 1967 Six Day War, in a reversal of roles tiny Israel came to be viewed as Goliath and the much larger and richer Arab world as David. Anti-Zionism, understandable perhaps among Arab nationalists, became a catch cry also for an incongruous coalition of old style right-wing antisemites and high-minded clergymen, intellectuals, communists, socialists and left-wing humanitarians, united by sympathy for Palestinian refugees (as opposed to the roughly equivalent number of Jewish refugees from Muslim countries), Arab national aspirations, anti-globalism and anti-Americanism.

Calls to dismantle the Jewish state, whether they come from radicalised Muslims, the Left, or the radical Right¹², increasingly rely on antisemitic stereotypes, such as the manipulative “*Jewish lobby*”, the Jewish/Zionist “*world conspiracy*” and Jewish/Israeli “*warmongers*”, displaying unmistakable analogies to the worst European antisemitism before the Holocaust.

It is this context that the *Protocols* are being so widely promoted.

The common denominator of this form of radical anti-Zionism has been the systematic effort to demonise and criminalise Israeli and Jewish behaviour, so as to place it beyond the pale of civilized and acceptable conduct, and it is all the more chilling because it has so often been accompanied by express and repeated threats of

¹² As the Chief Rabbi of the United Hebrew Congregations of the Commonwealth, Sir Jonathan Sacks, has written: “*The new anti-Semitism is coming simultaneously from three different directions: first, a radicalized Islamist youth inflamed by extremist rhetoric; second a left-wing anti-American cognitive elite with strong representation in the European media; third, a resurgent far right, as anti-Muslim as it is anti-Jewish.*”

further genocide against Jews.¹³ The illustrations in the preceding section speak for themselves in that regard.

This is a complex matter and, in the context of a conference about mutual respect and inclusion, I want to close by referring only to what Zionism actually means for Jews.

As Father Flannery points out¹⁴, at the core of the anti-Zionist rationale is both a fallacy and a refusal.

- The fallacy consists in defining Jewishness as *only* a religion, not a peoplehood or a nation, whereas it is essentially all of these; and
- the refusal consists in not allowing Jews to define themselves.

Throughout their long history Jews have identified themselves as a people wedded to a Law, a homeland (Israel) and a nationhood. Zionism has its origin in the Torah, Judaism's most sacred book, not, as some think, in the political movement launched by Theodore Herzl and his collaborators in the 19th and 20th centuries. For the committed Jew, therefore, an attack on Zionism, on Israel, is an attack on his Jewishness and his Judaism.¹⁵

President Obama's Cairo speech was quite wrong therefore in presenting the Jewish presence in Palestine as a sort of restitution for the Holocaust.

To understand Zionism in that historically inaccurate way, is to diminish the determination of the Jewish people through the ages to reclaim their homeland and restore its dispersed sons and daughters to Zion – not as a reparation, but as a right.

¹³ Robert S. Wistrich, "*Anti-Zionism and Anti-Semitism*" loc.cit.

"One of the more striking symptoms has been the call for a scientific, cultural, and economic boycott of Israel that arouses some grim associations and memories among Jews of the Nazi boycott that began in 1933. ... There are other highly visible manifestations. **An example is the systematic manner in which Israel is harassed at international forums such as the United Nations, where the Arab states have for decades pursued a policy of isolating the Jewish state and turning it into a pariah.** An offshoot of this campaign was the hate-fest at the UN-sponsored Durban Conference against racism of September 2001, which denounced Zionism as a 'genocidal' movement, practicing 'ethnic cleansing' against Palestinians. In these and similar public forums, as well as in much of the Western mainstream media, Zionism and the Jewish people have been demonized in ways that are virtually identical to the methods, arguments, and techniques of racist anti-Semitism. **Even though the current banner may be 'antiracist' and the defamation is being carried out today in the name of human rights, all the red lines have clearly been crossed.** For example, 'anti-Zionists' who insist on comparing Zionism and the Jews with Hitler and the Third Reich appear unmistakably to be de facto anti-Semites, even if they vehemently deny the fact! This is largely because they knowingly exploit the reality that Nazism in the post-war world has become the defining metaphor of absolute evil. For if Zionists are 'Nazis' ... then it becomes a moral obligation to wage war against Israel. That is the bottom line of much contemporary anti-Zionism. In practice, this has become the most potent form of contemporary anti-Semitism. ... **Indeed, Israel is today the only state on the face of this planet that such a large number of disparate people wish to see disappear - itself a chilling reminder of the Nazi propaganda of the 1930s.**" (emphasis added)

¹⁴ *The Anguish of the Jews* loc.cit.

¹⁵ I am indebted in this section to Martin Peretz, "*Narrative Dissonance*" in *The New Republic*, 01 July 2009

Long before the Holocaust, Jews were already at work in the desert, in the swamps, in their kibbutzim, in their new cities, including Tel Aviv, in their business enterprises, in their universities and research institutions. And moreover they had revived their ancient language, making it a living tongue. Hitler had nothing to do with this drive for renewed self determination.

By the time World War II began, there were already approximately 450,000 Jews in Palestine. Most of them had arrived in response to the 1917 Balfour Declaration and the approval by the League of Nations of a British mandate for a Jewish homeland in Palestine.

That recognition by the international community of a place for Jewish sovereignty in post-war Palestine was only one of several rearrangements contemplated for the vast territories that had been governed by the now expired Ottoman Empire. From this land mass emerged the States of Lebanon, Syria, Iraq, Jordan, North Yemen and various other adjustments of frontiers on behalf of the Wilsonian principle of the self-determination of nations. These countries, comprising almost the entire Fertile Crescent, were vouchsafed to the Arabs, their first experiments at self-government in history. And it is in that context that a tiny part of western Palestine was intended for the Jews.

The problems and injustices arising from the displacement of both Arabs and Jews during the Arab-Israeli conflict will not be resolved by resorting to demonisation and antisemitic stereotypes. There are two peoples involved in the conflict, each with its own narrative, and each has a right to self-determination. May the day come in our lifetime when they will live alongside each other exercising their respective rights of self-determination in peace and mutual respect.

N: SOME STRATEGIES

The following are some strategies Jews have tried in combating antisemitism that might be useful in dealing with Islamophobia.¹⁶

¹⁶ I am indebted to Rabbi Zalman Kastel, Uri Windt and Lynda Ben Menashe for comments and suggestions in this and other parts of this paper.

Assimilation

Some Jews have tried assimilation, either abandoning traditional religious and cultural practices or keeping them low key when interacting with the wider, non-Jewish society. This has had some benefits. Some individuals have risen even to high public office, which might not have occurred had they not appeared to be fully integrated into the dominant society and culture. From a traditional perspective, however, assimilation could be a high price to pay, losing some or all of one's full Jewish heritage to be accepted in wider society as an individual, but not as a member of one's distinct religious or cultural group. In some cases, the strategy of assimilation proved positively disastrous for the Jews. In Germany, for example, as a degree of emancipation became possible in the 19th century, many Jews strove to be more German than the Germans, fully adopting and contributing to German culture, yet they and their children experienced the backlash of racial antisemitism and their German culture, even valiant and decorated war service for Germany in the First World War, afforded them no protection when the Nazis rose to power.

Community representation

In all generations, Jews have also formed bodies to represent their community to the authorities, seeking protection from antisemitism or other assistance from the powers that be. The NSW Jewish Board of Deputies represents the Jews of New South Wales to government in that way and conversely, government can communicate with the Jewish community through the Board. The Muslim community is much larger and even more diverse than the Jewish community in New South Wales but it would probably benefit were it able to speak with one voice or at least fewer voices.

Incident recording

It greatly assists representations to government to have a good system for collecting and recording incidents of religious or racial racism. The Jewish communities of Australia collect and analyse reports and produce through their federal body, the Executive Council of Australian Jewry, an annual report on antisemitic incidents. We would be happy to assist the Muslim community in any way we might be able to in that regard.

The broad strategy

The most effective strategy adopted by Jews, however, has not had antisemitism as its primary focus. In many countries, Jews have put into practice Jewish teachings and values of social justice for all in the community, supporting others in their struggles against prejudice and racism, on the basis a more just society which rejects racism will also reject antisemitism.

I am not claiming any special virtue for Jews in this regard. Social justice is taught by Islam, Christianity and all major religions and people of many faiths have supported such struggles. But Jews have also made a contribution. In the United States, for example, Jews were among the strongest supporters of Martin Luther King throughout the long struggle of Afro-Americans for civil rights. That struggle resulted over time in the reduction of overt racism in the United States to a point, unimaginable in the 1960s within the time it actually took, where Barack Obama could be elected as the first black President of the United States.¹⁷ In South Africa, the country I was born in, more than half the white defendants in the huge Treason Trial of the 1950s were Jews and in the Rivonia Trial, involving Nelson Mandela, all the white defendants were Jewish.¹⁸

This strategy has had its setbacks for Jews. For example, despite Martin Luther King's strong personal stand against antisemitism, American blacks have sometimes succumbed to it. And in South Africa today, antisemitism is again rearing its ugly head. But it is on the whole a good strategy, I believe, and one in which all faiths and cultural groups can be allies, giving each other mutual support.

O: SOME LESSONS

In the film *Cabaret*, set in pre-war Nazi Berlin, a Jewish couple are portrayed in a nightclub cabaret as chimpanzees and the male, played by Joel Grey, sings: "... *if you could see her through my eyes, she wouldn't look Jewish at all.*"

¹⁷ The vast majority of American Jews voted for Obama in that election.

¹⁸ Those defendants were for the most part Jews in the socialist tradition, not strongly connected to the organised community, but they nonetheless identified and were identified as Jews. Helen Suzman, on the other hand, was a Jewish parliamentarian who for many years acted as an unofficial ombudsman for many disenfranchised people.

To understand another's life, religion, culture and traditions – to see through others' eyes or stand in their shoes - requires imagination, sensitivity, good faith and above all sustained effort, effort to build meaningful relationships, effort to build trust and understanding.

One lesson I draw from this conference is that we all have an obligation in multicultural Australia to make sustained efforts to build relationships and to get to know and understand each other better, to respect what Rabbi Jonathan Sacks calls "*the Dignity of Difference*" – which is respect for the other as other and not as potentially the same. Or as the Holy Qur'an (49:13) says: Allah/Hashem "*made you into nations and tribes, that you may know each other*"

I hope I have gained from this conference a better understanding of my fellow Australians who are Muslims and of the pain that Islamophobia causes them. And I have tried in my turn to give Muslims and other non-Jews some understanding of what antisemitism has meant and still means for us Jews, because an understanding of antisemitism, its awful history, and its continuing harmful effects, and rejection of antisemitism in any form, is a necessary precondition for any sincere dialogue with the Jewish community.¹⁹

A second lesson from this conference, I believe, is that we share an obligation as Australians to stand up for each other against racism in any form – be it Islamophobia, antisemitism or racism against Asians, Aboriginals, refugees or other groups or individuals in our society.²⁰

With 25% of its population born overseas and 50% with an overseas born parent, Australia is a very special place in having welcomed and embraced so many and so diverse a range of communities. That bestows a very special responsibility on us as Australians to maintain social cohesion and mutual respect.

This cannot be taken for granted. As has happened with economic downturns in the past, the Global Financial Crisis will encourage xenophobia and racism that threatens to fracture Australian society. Who would have thought that Indian students would be

¹⁹ There are more Holocaust survivors per capita in Australia than in any country other than Israel.

²⁰ The Jewish community in NSW has taken stands against Islamophobia, e.g. in relation to the Camden school issue and in defence of a Muslim girl's right to wear a *hijab* at school.

the first to feel its brunt? And we have reports already of the revival of an anti-immigration political party.

What we all want is a “safe space”, personal and communal dignity, and equal opportunity to earn and contribute to our society.

The challenge is to create a framework in which these can be the ethical, social and political norm. I would like to see us all reconvene in the near future at a conference to define afresh multiculturalism in Australia and to creating a policy framework that will support understanding, respect and social harmony. Hopefully that might lead to a time when we no longer need to discuss either Islamophobia or antisemitism.

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Attachments:

1. The Working Definition of Antisemitism adopted by the EUMC/European Union, ODIHR, OSCE and UK All-Party Parliamentary Inquiry
2. Arabic translation thereof
3. Turkish translation thereof
4. The London Declaration on Combating Antisemitism



WORKING DEFINITION OF ANTISEMITISM

The purpose of this document is to provide a practical guide for identifying incidents, collecting data, and supporting the implementation and enforcement of legislation dealing with antisemitism.

Working definition: "Antisemitism is a certain perception of Jews, which may be expressed as hatred toward Jews. Rhetorical and physical manifestations of antisemitism are directed toward Jewish or non-Jewish individuals and/or their property, toward Jewish community institutions and religious facilities."

In addition, such manifestations could also target the state of Israel, conceived as a Jewish collectivity. Antisemitism frequently charges Jews with conspiring to harm humanity, and it is often used to blame Jews for "why things go wrong." It is expressed in speech, writing, visual forms and action, and employs sinister stereotypes and negative character traits.

Contemporary examples of antisemitism in public life, the media, schools, the workplace, and in the religious sphere could, taking into account the overall context, include, but are not limited to:

- Calling for, aiding, or justifying the killing or harming of Jews in the name of a radical ideology or an extremist view of religion.
- Making mendacious, dehumanizing, demonizing, or stereotypical allegations about Jews as such or the power of Jews as collective — such as, especially but not exclusively, the myth about a world Jewish conspiracy or of Jews controlling the media, economy, government or other societal institutions.
- Accusing Jews as a people of being responsible for real or imagined wrongdoing committed by a single Jewish person or group, or even for acts committed by non-Jews.
- Denying the fact, scope, mechanisms (e.g. gas chambers) or intentionality of the genocide of the Jewish people at the hands of National Socialist Germany and its supporters and accomplices during World War II (the Holocaust).
- Accusing the Jews as a people, or Israel as a state, of inventing or exaggerating the Holocaust.
- Accusing Jewish citizens of being more loyal to Israel, or to the alleged priorities of Jews worldwide, than to the interests of their own nations.

Examples of the ways in which antisemitism manifests itself with regard to the state of Israel taking into account the overall context could include:

- Denying the Jewish people their right to self-determination, e.g., by claiming that the existence of a State of Israel is a racist endeavor.
- Applying double standards by requiring of it a behavior not expected or demanded of any other democratic nation.
- Using the symbols and images associated with classic antisemitism (e.g., claims of Jews killing Jesus or blood libel) to characterize Israel or Israelis.
- Drawing comparisons of contemporary Israeli policy to that of the Nazis.
- Holding Jews collectively responsible for actions of the state of Israel.

However, criticism of Israel similar to that leveled against any other country cannot be regarded as antisemitic.

Antisemitic acts are criminal when they are so defined by law (for example, denial of the Holocaust or distribution of antisemitic materials in some countries).

Criminal acts are antisemitic when the targets of attacks, whether they are people or property—such as buildings, schools, places of worship and cemeteries—are selected because they are, or are perceived to be, Jewish or linked to Jews.

Antisemitic discrimination is the denial to Jews of opportunities or services available to others and is illegal in many countries.

تعريف عملي للاسامية

تهدف هذه الوثيقة الى تقديم دليل عملي لتعريف الحوادث المتعلقة بالاسامية, جمع المعطيات, ومساعدة تنفيذ الشرائع السارية بها.

التعريف العملي: الاسامية هي ادراك معين لليهود والذي يمكن ان يستفسر كانه كراهية لليهود, كل اظهار بياني وجسماني للاسامية يوجه ضد اناس يهود او غير يهود واملاكهم, او ضد مؤسسات جماعية او دينية يهودية.

وبالاضافة, يمكن ان تهدف هذه الظواهر دولة اسرائيل ككيان يهودي جماعي. وكثيرا ما تتهم الاسامية اليهود بانهم يتآمرون على الانسانية للمس فيها, واحيانا تتهم اليهود بكل "سوء يجري في العالم". هذه الاتهامات تعبر بالكلام والكتابة والصور والاعمال المرئية, وتستعمل مؤشرات فاسدة وظواهر سلبية.

الامثلة المعاصرة للاسامية في الحياة العامة والاعلام, في المدارس ومحلات الشغل, وفي المناخ الديني, مع الاخذ بالاعتبار السياق العام, هي كالآتي مع انها ليست محدودة بها:

- الدعوة الى ومساندة او تبرير قتل اليهود او جرحهم باسم اي ايولوجية دينية متعصبة.
- الطعن باليهود او قوتهم كجماعة, باتهامات كاذبة, لا انسانية, شيطانية او مقولية, وخاصة الخرافة عن المؤامرة اليهودية العالمية او السلطة اليهودية على الاعلام والاقتصاد والحكومات وغيرهم من المؤسسات الاجتماعية.
- اتهام اليهود بالمسؤولية لاعمال, حقيقية او خيالية, اجراها انسان او جماعة يهودية وحتى افعال اجراها غير اليهود.
- تكذيب حقيقة او حجم او الوسائل (كالاياة بالغاز مثلا) او القصد وراء اياة اليهود بايدي المانيا الوطنية الاجتماعية (النازية) واعوانها خلال الحرب العالمية الثانية (الهولوكوست).
- اتهام اليهود كشعب او اسرائيل كدولة باختراع او الافراط بالكارثة.
- اتهام مواطنون يهود بالاخلاص لاسرائيل او لجدول اولويات يهودي عالمي مزعوم, اكثر من اخلاصهم لمصالح دولهم.
- الامثلة للطرق التي تستعملها الاسامية لاطهار نفسها تجاه دولة اسرائيل, مع الاخذ بالاعتبار السياق العام, هي كالآتي:
 - تكذيب حق الشعب اليهودي من الحكم الذاتي, بالادعاء مثلا ان قيام دولة اسرائيل هو اجتهاد عنصري.
 - استعمال مقاييس ثنائية بالطلب منها بتصرفات لا يطالبون بها من اي دولة ديمقراطية اخرى.
 - استعمال الرموز والمتصورات المأخوذة من الاسامية الكلاسيكية بوصف اسرائيل او اسرائيليين (كاتهام اليهود بقتل المسيح او استعمال دم الاولاد, مثلا).
 - مقارنة السياسة الاسرائيلية المعاصرة بالنازية.

• اعتبار اليهود جميعا مسؤولين عن اعمال دولة اسرائيل.

ومع ذلك، الانتقاد على اسرائيل بالصورة التي تنتقد فيها اية دولة اخرى، ليست ما يسمى باللاسامية.

الاعمال اللاسامية جنائية حين يعتبرها القانون كذلك (تكذيب الكارثة او نشر مواد لاسامية في بعض الدول، مثلا).

اعمال جنائية تكون لاسامية حين اهداف الهجوم، ناس او املاك (مباني، مدارس، معابد دينية، مقابر، والمخ) تختار لانها تعتبر يهودية او متعلقة باليهود.

التمييز اللاسامي هو منع اليهود من فرص او خدمات متوفرة للجميع، وهو غير قانوني في دول كثيرة.

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ANTİSEMITİZMİN GÜNCEL TANIMI

Bu doküman antisemitizm içeren olaylar ile ilgili veri toplamada, teşhis etmede ve konu ile ilgili mevzuatın yürürlüğe konulup uygulanmasına yardımcı bir kılavuz oluşturmak amacıyla hazırlanmıştır.

Geçerli tanım: **"Antisemitizm, Yahudilerin kendilerine yönelik nefret olarak da ifade edebilecekleri belirli bir anlayış biçimidir. Bunun sözlü ve fiziksel oluşumları ise Yahudi olan veya olmayan şahıslara, ve/veya mülklerine, Yahudi cemaati kuruluşlarına ve dini etkinliklerine yöneltilmektedir".**

Bunun yanı sıra, bu tür tezahürler bir Yahudi topluluğu olarak algılanan İsrail Devleti'ni de hedef alabilir. Antisemitizm genellikle Yahudileri "kötüye giden şeylerin" nedenini açıklamada ve sıklıkla da insanlığa kötülük etmek adına komplolar kurmakla suçlamalarda kullanılır.

Konuşmalar, yazılar, görsel betimlemeler ve eylemlerde, olumsuz ve uğursuz stereotip ve fesat karakter özelliklerinde dile getirilir.

Antisemitizm genel bağlamda dikkate alındığında, sosyal yaşam, medya, okullar, işyerleri ve dini alanlardaki örnekleri bunlarla sınırlı kalmamakla birlikte, şunları kapsar:

- Radikal bir ideoloji veya köktenci din adına Yahudilere zarar vermeyi veya öldürmeyi mazur göstermeye çalışmak veya bunlar için yardım çağrısında bulunmak.
- Yahudilerin veya Yahudilerin kolektif gücü hakkında asılsız, insanlık dışı, şeytansı stereotip suçlamalarda bulunmak; onların ekonomi, medya, hükümet ve diğer sosyal kurumların denetimlerini ellerinde bulundurmaları veya dünya Yahudi komplosu efsanesi(Yahudilerin dünyayı yönettiği gibi..).
- Tüm Yahudileri, tek bir şahıs veya bir grup tarafından işlenmiş veya işlendiği varsayılan bir hata yüzünden ve hatta Yahudi olmayan gruplar tarafından yapılan eylemler için dahi sorumlu tutmak ve suçlamak.
- İkinci Dünya Savaşı sırasında Nasyonal Sosyalist Almanya, onların destekçileri ve suç ortakları tarafından Yahudilere uygulanan katliam (Yahudi soykırımı) olgusunu, bu katliamın kapsamını, mekanizmalarını (gaz odaları gibi) ve kasıtlılığını inkar etmek.
- İsrail Devleti'ni ve Yahudileri, Yahudi soykırımını abartmakla ve hatta uydurmakla suçlamak.
- Yahudileri, dünya genelindeki Yahudilerin iddia edilen önceliklerine ve İsrail Devleti'ne daha sadık olmak ve birer vatandaş olarak bunları kendi uluslarının çıkarlarının önünde tutmakla suçlamak.

Genel durum İsrail devleti ile birlikte göz önüne alındığında, antisemitizmin kendini ortaya koyduğu örnekler şu şekilde sıralanabilir:

- İsrail Devleti'nin mevcudiyetinin ırkçı bir çaba olduğu iddiasında bulunmak gibi Yahudi halkının kendi geleceğini kendisinin tayin etme hakkı olduğunu inkar etmek.
- Başka herhangi bir demokratik ülkeden talep edilmeyen ve yapılması beklenmeyen bir davranış ve tutumu kendilerinden talep ederek çifte standart uygulamak.
- İsrail'i ve İsrailileri tanımlamak için, İsa'yı Yahudilerin öldürdüğü veya kan iftirası(Yahudilerin hamursuz imalatına Hristiyan kanı kattığı gibi asılsız bir iddia) gibi klasik antisemitizm ile bağlantılı semboller ve imgeler kullanmak.
- Günümüz İsrail politikası ile Nazilerin politikası arasında benzerlikler kurmak.
- Tüm Yahudileri toplu olarak İsrail Devleti'nin eylemlerinden sorumlu tutmak.

Tabiidir ki, diğer ülkelere yapılan oranda İsrail'e de yapılan eleştiriler antisemitizm olarak değerlendirilemez.

Antisemitizm içeren hareketler, yasalarla tanımlandığında, suç kapsamına girer (örneğin, Yahudi soykırımının inkarı veya bazı ülkelerde dağıtılan antisemitizm içeren materyaller).

Saldırıların hedefi, ister insanlar isterse binalar, okullar, işyerleri ve mezarlıklar gibi mülkler olsun, eğer Yahudilerin kendileri veya onlarla bağlantılı olduğu düşünülüyor ve buna göre belirleniyorsa, o taktirde bu suç kapsamındaki eylemler Yahudi düşmanlığı olarak nitelendirilir. Yahudi düşmanlığı ve ayrımcılığı diğer insanlara sağlanan hizmetlerin ve tanınan fırsatların Yahudilere sağlanmasını inkar etmek demektir ve birçok ülkede yasadışıdır.

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The London Declaration on Combating Antisemitism

Preamble

We, Representatives of our respective Parliaments from across the world, convening in London for the founding Conference and Summit of the Inter-parliamentary Coalition for Combating Antisemitism, draw the democratic world's attention to the resurgence of antisemitism as a potent force in politics, international affairs and society.

We note the dramatic increase in recorded antisemitic hate crimes and attacks targeting Jewish persons and property, and Jewish religious, educational and communal institutions.

We are alarmed at the resurrection of the old language of prejudice and its modern manifestations – in rhetoric and political action - against Jews, Jewish belief and practice and the State of Israel.

We are alarmed by Government-backed antisemitism in general, and state-backed genocidal antisemitism, in particular.

We, as Parliamentarians, affirm our commitment to a comprehensive programme of action to meet this challenge.

We call upon national governments, parliaments, international institutions, political and civic leaders, NGOs, and civil society to affirm democratic and human values, build societies based on respect and citizenship and combat any manifestations of antisemitism and discrimination.

We today in London resolve that;

Challenging Antisemitism

1. **Parliamentarians** shall expose, challenge, and isolate political actors who engage in hate against Jews and target the State of Israel as a Jewish collectivity;
2. **Parliamentarians** should speak out against antisemitism and discrimination directed against any minority, and guard against equivocation, hesitation and justification in the face of expressions of hatred;
3. **Governments** must challenge any foreign leader, politician or public figure who denies, denigrates or trivialises the Holocaust and must encourage civil society to be vigilant to this phenomenon and to openly condemn it;

4. **Parliamentarians** should campaign for their Government to uphold international commitments on combating antisemitism - including the OSCE Berlin Declaration and its eight main principles;
5. **The UN** should reaffirm its call for every member state to commit itself to the principles laid out in the Holocaust Remembrance initiative including specific and targeted policies to eradicate Holocaust denial and trivialisation;
6. **Governments and the UN** should resolve that never again will the institutions of the international community and the dialogue of nation states be abused to try to establish any legitimacy for antisemitism, including the singling out of Israel for discriminatory treatment in the international arena, and we will never witness – or be party to - another gathering like Durban in 2001;
7. **The OSCE** should encourage its member states to fulfil their commitments under the 2004 Berlin Declaration and to fully utilise programmes to combat antisemitism including the Law Enforcement programme LEOP;
8. **The European Union**, inter-state institutions and multilateral fora and religious communities must make a concerted effort to combat antisemitism and lead their member states to adopt proven and best practice methods of countering antisemitism;
9. **Leaders of all religious faiths** should be called upon to use all the means possible to combat antisemitism and all types of discriminatory hostilities among believers and society at large;
10. **The EU Council of Ministers** should convene a session on combating antisemitism relying on the outcomes of the London Conference on Combating Antisemitism and using the London Declaration as a basis.

Prohibitions

11. **Governments** should take appropriate and necessary action to prevent the broadcast of explicitly antisemitic programmes on satellite television channels, and to apply pressure on the host broadcast nation to take action to prevent the transmission of explicitly antisemitic programmes;
12. **Governments** should fully reaffirm and actively uphold the Genocide Convention, recognising that where there is incitement to genocide signatories automatically have an obligation to act. This may include sanctions against countries involved in or threatening to commit genocide or referral of the matter to the UN Security Council or initiate an inter-state complaint at the International Court of Justice;
13. **Parliamentarians** should legislate effective Hate Crime legislation recognising “hate aggravated crimes” and, where consistent with local legal standards, “incitement to hatred” offences and empower law enforcement agencies to convict;
14. **Governments** that are signatories to the Hate Speech Protocol of the Council of Europe ‘Convention on Cybercrime’ (and the ‘Additional Protocol to the Convention on cybercrime, concerning the criminalisation of acts of a racist and xenophobic nature committed through computer systems’) should enact domestic enabling legislation;

Identifying the threat

15. **Parliamentarians** should return to their legislature, Parliament or Assembly and establish inquiry scrutiny panels that are tasked with determining the existing nature and state of antisemitism in their countries and developing recommendations for government and civil society action;
16. **Parliamentarians** should engage with their governments in order to measure the effectiveness of existing policies and mechanisms in place and to recommend proven and best practice methods of countering antisemitism;
17. **Governments** should ensure they have publicly accessible incident reporting systems, and that statistics collected on antisemitism should be the subject of regular review and action by government and state prosecutors and that an adequate legislative framework is in place to tackle hate crime.
18. **Governments** must expand the use of the EUMC 'working definition' of antisemitism to inform policy of national and international organisations and as a basis for training material for use by Criminal Justice Agencies;
19. **Police services** should record allegations of hate crimes and incidents - including antisemitism - as routine part of reporting crimes;
20. **The OSCE** should work with member states to seek consistent data collection systems for antisemitism and hate crime.

Education, awareness and training

21. **Governments** should train Police, prosecutors and judges comprehensively. The training is essential if perpetrators of antisemitic hate crime are to be successfully apprehended, prosecuted, convicted and sentenced. The OSCE's Law enforcement Programme LEOP is a model initiative consisting of an international cadre of expert police officers training police in several countries;
22. **Governments** should develop teaching materials on the subjects of the Holocaust, racism, antisemitism and discrimination which are incorporated into the national school curriculum. All teaching materials ought to be based on values of comprehensiveness, inclusiveness, acceptance and respect and should be designed to assist students to recognise and counter antisemitism and all forms of hate speech;
23. **The OSCE** should encourage their member states to fulfill their commitments under the 2004 Berlin Declaration and to fully utilise programmes to combat antisemitism including the Law Enforcement programme LEOP;
24. **Governments** should include a comprehensive training programme across the Criminal Justice System using programmes such as the LEOP programme;
25. **Education Authorities** should ensure that freedom of speech is upheld within the law and to protect students and staff from illegal antisemitic discourse and a hostile environment in whatever form it takes including calls for boycotts;

Community Support

26. **The Criminal Justice System** should publicly notify local communities when antisemitic hate crimes are prosecuted by the courts to build community confidence in reporting and pursuing convictions through the Criminal Justice system;
27. **Parliamentarians** should engage with civil society institutions and leading NGOs to create partnerships that bring about change locally, domestically and globally, and support efforts that encourage Holocaust education, inter-religious dialogue and cultural exchange;

Media and the Internet

28. **Governments** should acknowledge the challenge and opportunity of the growing new forms of communication;
29. **Media Regulatory Bodies** should utilise the EUMC 'Working Definition of antisemitism' to inform media standards;
30. **Governments** should take appropriate and necessary action to prevent the broadcast of antisemitic programmes on satellite television channels, and to apply pressure on the host broadcast nation to take action to prevent the transmission of antisemitic programmes;
31. **The OSCE** should seek ways to coordinate the response of member states to combat the use of the internet to promote incitement to hatred;
32. **Law enforcement authorities** should use domestic "hate crime", "incitement to hatred" and other legislation as well as other means to mitigate and, where permissible, to prosecute "Hate on the Internet" where racist and antisemitic content is hosted, published and written;
33. **An international task force** of Internet specialists comprised of parliamentarians and experts should be established to create common metrics to measure antisemitism and other manifestations of hate online and to develop policy recommendations and practical instruments for Governments and international frameworks to tackle these problems.

Inter-parliamentary Coalition for Combating Antisemitism

34. **Participants** will endeavour to maintain contact with fellow delegates through working group framework; communicating successes or requesting further support where required;
35. **Delegates** should reconvene for the next ICCA Conference in Canada in 2010, become an active member of the Inter-parliamentary Coalition and promote and prioritise the London Declaration on Combating Antisemitism.

Lancaster House, 17 February 2009